One hundred years have passed since a man named Karl Marx

passed away. A century. A century of dramatic upheavals,

revolutionary storms, radical changes in the fate of mankind. A century that overturned, overturned.

a multitude of philosophical concepts, social theories, political doctrines. And a century of successive victories of Marxism, of its growing influence on social development.

on social development.

The further time moves on, the clearer the meaning and

scope of Marx's life feat become.

For millennia, people have been searching for a just

reorganisation of society, for freedom from exploitation,

poverty, material and spiritual oppression.

power, material and spiritual poverty. Eminent minds have

devoted themselves to this search. Generation after

generation sacrificed their lives for this goal, fighters for the people's happiness. But it was in the titanic work of Marx that the work of the great scientist for the first time merged with the practice of the selfless struggle of the leader and

organiser of the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Marx is rightly regarded as the successor of the best of classical German philosophy, English political economy, and French

utopian socialism. But he went much further

critically revised their achievements and went much

further. First of all, because he took up a task which he

himself formulated, as befits a genius,

The philosophers have only explained the world in various

ways, but the task is to change it. And to revolutionise the world.

Marx devoted all the power of his ordinary mind, all of himself without a trace.

The unity of consistently scientific theory and revolutionary practice is the hallmark of Marxism.

of Marxism. Marx's scientific work itself could not unfold except in inseparable connection with the independent entry into the political arena of the then still historically very young class, the revolutionary class of the proletariat. And Marx had the good fortune to see his own prophetic words, spoken in his youth "Just as

philosophy finds in the proletariat its material weapon, so the proletariat finds in philosophy its spiritual weapon."

The philosophy that Marx gave to the working class, a

revolution in the history of social thought. Mankind did not know about itself a fraction of what it has learnt through

Marxism. Marx's doctrine, presented in the organic integrity of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and the theory of scientific communism, represented a genuine revolution in

worldviews and at the same time lit the way for the deepest social revolutions.

Marx revealed the objective, material laws of the movement

of history, discovered them where before

everything had either seemed to be the play of blind chance, the arbitrariness of individual personalities, or the self-expression of a mythical world spirit. Behind the visible, the apparent, behind the phenomenon.

the essence. He tore the veil

from the mystery of capitalist production, the exploitation of labour by capital, how surplus value is created and by whom.

These two of Marx's greatest discoveries, the materialist

understanding of history and the theory of surplus value, were given special importance by Friedrich Engels, his great comrade and friend and it's easy to see why. It was these discoveries that made it possible to turn socialism from a utopia into a science, to give a scientific understanding of the class struggle. It was on their basis

that Lenin called the main thing in Marx's doctrine "the

elucidation of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society".

Yes, Marx is the greatest scientist. But Marx is also the greatest revolutionary practitioner. And one can only marvel at how

much he was able to do to achieve the goals

his own goals.

Together with Engels, Marx created the Union of Communists, the first political organisation in history.

of the conscious, revolutionary proletariat. He was thus the first communist in the most modern sense of the word, the originator of our present world

movement.

“Only the international union of the working class can ensure its final victory,” Marx wrote. And he himself, the founder of the First International, worked tirelessly to forge the international unity of the workers.

The political precepts of Marx and Engels to the communists of the world cannot be imagined without the fiery appeal

“Proletarians of all countries, unite! “.

A convinced internationalist, Marx, more than anyone else, was able to penetrate into the peculiarities of the situation in the most diverse countries.

countries from England to India, from France to China, from the United States to Ireland. At the same time, he was always looking at the lives of individual peoples, but he was also looking for their interconnections with the life of the world. And here, for him.

the cardinal question was always: who would begin

the revolutionary breaking of capitalist orders and will be the first to move along the road leading to the communist

future of mankind?

to the communist future of mankind?

History provides the answer to this question. To be a

revolutionary pioneer fell to the share of the proletariat of Russia. There are even nowadays

“critics” of the October Revolution who claim that it happened against all Marx’s expectations.

They pretend that in his revolutionary forecasts, Marx

discounted Russia altogether. But in fact he took a great

interest in Russian affairs. To understand them better,

Marx studied the Russian language. An implacable opponent of tsarism, he providentially assessed the prospect of the rising social movement in Russia,

he saw that there was a “tremendous social revolution”

brewing in Russia, which would have a worldwide significance.

Indeed, even about future events Marx judged more accurately than some of our current “critics” judge about the past.

Engels said that in the ranks of the struggling proletariat, with the death of Marx.

had created a gaping void. The loss was indeed immeasurable.

But the banner of Marx remained in safe hands. It was carried high by Engels himself, who was at the head of the revolutionary labour movement, which was gaining strength. And while Engels was still alive, Vladimir Lenin entered the arena of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Lenin was a faithful follower of Marx and Engels. He, by his own admission, could not tolerate the slightest blasphemy against his great teachers. This was the only way that a man who had done more than anyone else not only for the defence but also for the creative development under the new historical conditions of all the constituent parts of Marxism, for its practical realisation. He raised Marxism to a new, higher stage. The name of Lenin

is inseparable from the name of Marx. Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the collapse of the colonial system, of the epoch of the transition to a new, higher stage of

humanity from capitalism to socialism. Outside and beyond Leninism, Marxism is simply impossible in our time.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he founded led the first

victorious socialist revolution, which radically changed the social and political face of the world. Thus a new era was opened an era of eragrandiose achievements and historical conquests of the working class and the masses. Thus

scientific socialism, created by Marx, merged with the living practice of millions of workers building a new society.

society.

Today, the richest content of Marx's teachings is revealed to us much more broadly and deeply than to his contemporaries.

of his teachings. For it is one thing to perceive the idea of the historical necessity of socialism in its theoretical form and quite another to be participants and witnesses of the process of putting this idea into practice.

The concrete historical paths of the development of

socialism did not lie in all respects in the way which the

founders of our revolutionary theory had envisaged.

Initially, it won in only one country, moreover, not the most economically developed one. The whole point here is that the October Revolution took place in new historical conditions

which did not exist in Marx's lifetime, in the epoch of

imperialism.

historical conditions that did not exist during Marx's lifetime, the epoch of imperialism, which was reflected in Lenin's

theory of socialist revolution, which is fully confirmed by life.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and reformism, to this

day, construct entire systems of arguments, trying to prove that the

the new society created in the USSR, in other brotherly

countries, has turned out to be inconsistent with the

image of socialism that Marx saw. They say that

reality has diverged from the ideal. But whether

deliberately or through ignorance, it is overlooked that Marx himself, in developing his doctrine, was least of all guided by the requirements of some abstract ideal of a clean and tidy “socialism”. He derived his idea of the future system from an analysis of the objective contradictions of large-scale capitalist production. It was this uniquely scientific approach

that allowed him to correctly

define the main features of the society that was yet to be born in the cleansing thunderstorms of the social revolutions of the twentieth century.

According to Marx, the cornerstone of the socio-economic

system replacing capitalism is social ownership of the means of production. The chiselled words of the “Manifesto

of the Communist Party” emphasise the significance,

which Marxism attaches to this necessary upheaval in the

relations of production: “..the communists can express their theory in one, the destruction of private property.”

The historical experience of real socialism shows that the

transformation of private property into

common property, is not a simple matter.

The revolution in in the relations of property is by no means reduced to to a one-time act, as a result of which the basic means of

production become the common property of the nation. To

receive the right of a master and to become a master, a real, wise and thrifty one, are far from being the same thing.

It will take a long time to master its new position as the

supreme and undivided owner of all social wealth,

economically, politically and, if you like, psychologically by developing collectivist consciousness and behaviour.

After all, only the person who cares not only about his own labour successes, well-being, authority, but also about the deeds of his fellow workers, and the interests of the collective, the interests of the whole country and the workers of the whole world. Speaking about the transformation of “mine” into “ours”, we must not forget that this is a long multidimensional process, which should not be simplified. Even when

socialist relations of production are finally established,

some people still retain, or even reproduce

individualistic habits, the desire to profit at the expense of others, at the expense of society. All these are, to use Marx’s terminology, consequences of the alienation of labour, and they do not go away automatically and suddenly out of consciousness, although alienation itself has already been eliminated.

All this we now know very well from the practice

of socialist and communist construction. But we also know

something else. Namely, that in full accordance with Marx's foresight, wherever the proletarian revolutions have

triumphed, the social property, which has been established in one form or another, the social ownership of the means of production, which has been established, has become the main factor of the existence of socialism, its support, and the main source of its progress.

On the basis of socialist property we have created a powerful, systematically developing economy, which makes it possible

to set and solve large-scale/complex national economic and

social tasks. Of course, these opportunities are not realised by themselves and both problems and serious difficulties arise here. Their origins are different but it is never connected with the essence of public, collective property, which has been established and has proved its advantages. On the contrary, a considerable proportion of the shortcomings that sometimes disturb the normal

work in certain or other parts of our national economy.

economy, has its cause in deviations from the norms and

requirements of economic life, the basis of which is the socialist ownership of the means of production.

Take, for example, the question of saving, the rational use of material, financial and labour resources. The fulfilment of the tasks of the current five-year plan, and the

development of our economy in the future. If you think about it, it is just a question of compliance with the necessary norm of economic

management, which is prescribed by socialist property and

the essence of which - in the thrifty attitude to the common property, in the proactive and energetic multiplication of it. For violations of this norm one has to pay the price

It is the right of society as a whole to exact strict penalties from those who, through negligence, ineptitude or self-interest squander its wealth.

Our concerns are now centred around increasing efficiency of production and the economy as a whole. The importance of this problem is deeply realised by the Party and the Soviet people. However, as for its

practical solution, things are not moving as successfully as they should. What is preventing it? Why from

huge “capital investments”, why do we now not get a proper return on them, why are the achievements of science and technology not being utilised in production at a satisfactory rate?

Of course, we can name many reasons. First of all, it is

impossible not to see that our work aimed at

improvement and restructuring of the economic

mechanism, forms and methods of management, lagged

behind the requirements of the achieved level of

material, technical, social and spiritual development of

Soviet society and this is the main thing. At

the same time there is, the impact of such factors as,

for example, the shortfall of a considerable amount of

agricultural production over the last four years, the need to direct ever increasing financial and material resources

towards the development of the Soviet society.

increasing financial and material resources to the extraction of fuel, energy and raw material resources in the northern

and eastern regions of the country.

We can repeat again and again Marx's fundamental idea that

in order to accelerate the progress of the productive forces we need appropriate forms of organisation of economic and

material resources, but the matter will not move

until this theoretical truth is translated into the concrete language of practice. At the centre of the matter today is the task of thinking out and consistently implementing measures which can give

greater scope to the action of the colossal

of the creative forces embedded in our economy. These

measures must be thoroughly prepared, realistic, and,

therefore, in their elaboration

it is necessary to proceed steadily from the laws of

development of the economic system of socialism. The

objective

nature of these laws demands that we get rid of all kinds of attempts to manage the economy by methods alien to its

nature. It is worth recalling here

Lenin's warning about the danger which lies in the naive belief of other workers that they can solve all their problems by

"communist decreeing". On the other hand, having agreed on the necessary measures it is inadmissible to abandon the matter halfway through. Everything that has been decided must be must be carried out. This is the Leninist tradition of our Party, and we must not deviate from it.

The interests of society as a whole are the most important

reference point for the development of an economy based on

socialist property. But it does not follow, of course, that in the name of the idea of the common good socialism suppresses or ignores the interests of individual, local, and specific needs of various social groups, the specific needs of different social groups. Not at all. "The idea," as Marx and Engels emphasised, "invariably shames itself as soon as it is separated from "interest" *. One of the most important tasks of improving our national economic

mechanism is to ensure that these interests are accurately

taken into account, to achieve their optimal combination with the interests of the nation as a whole, and thus to use them as a driving force for the growth of the Soviet economy, for

increasing its efficiency and labour productivity alongside the all-round strengthening of the economic and defence power of the Soviet state.

The efficiency of the socialist national economy must, of course, be judged in the light of not only economic criteria, but also social criteria, taking

into account the ultimate goal of social production.

In capitalism, this goal is profit on capital whilst in socialism, as Marx proved theoretically, it is the welfare of the people of labour, the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the individual. Real socialism puts this

position of Marx's theory into living flesh.

Indeed, no matter how multifaceted the tasks facing the

Soviet economy, all of them eventually merge into one - to

ensure the growth of the welfare of the workers, to create

material conditions for the flourishing of their spiritual and cultural life and social activity.

This determines the general direction of the economic policy of the CPSU, which is reflected in the documents of its

The XXVI Congress, in the Food Programme currently being

implemented, in Party decisions on specific national

economic issues. It is clear that this determines much, very much in our approach to the rationalisation of production, to its intensification. In other words, it is not at the expense of the workers, but in their interests that we solve the problems of increasing economic efficiency. This does not simplify our work, but it allows us to conduct it,

relying on the inexhaustible strength, knowledge and creative energy of the entire Soviet people.

Marx saw the historical purpose of the formation that is

replacing capitalism as being to

to transform labour from a painful, servile duty into the first vital need of the individual. We now know from experience

how much must be done on the long road to the realisation of this idea in its entirety. But the decisive point has already been reached.

We have done away with the situation, natural to capitalism, in which the product of labour confronts the worker as an alien, even hostile entity, and in which it turns out that the more physical and intellectual forces the worker expends, the more he or she is able to make use of them.

the more physical and intellectual energy the labourer expends, the more he increases the power of his oppressors.

The greatest and most undeniable achievement of socialism is that conditions have been created which ensure to every man the right to labour. It is this labour that does work for the good of society, is recognised in our country as the highest measure of the dignity and social prestige of the individual.

It has also been proved by practice that the generalisation of the means and objects of labour is a necessary and effective factor in the formation of a social climate inherent in socialism, in which people do not know the oppressive sense of uncertainty about the

future, in which the collectivist spirit and comradely mutual assistance, moral health and social optimism prevail. Taken together, all this means a fundamentally new quality of life for the labouring masses, which is by no means limited to material comfort, but encompasses the whole spectrum of full blooded human existence.

It is clear that all this is not achieved on another day after the establishment of public property.

Therefore, it cannot be immediately assessed as “ready-made”, completed socialism. The revolution in

in the relations of property does not in itself eliminate all the negative features of human society that have been

accumulating for centuries. It is a question of something else.

It is about

that without such a revolution, any “model” of socialism, no matter how attractive it may be dressed up, will be unlivable, will remain to exist only in the imagination of its creators. This is an alphabetical truth

of Marxism. And it is as true today as it was a hundred years ago.

The so-called alphabetic truths of Marxism must be handled

with care in general, for if they are not understood is severely punished by life itself. It took a lot of hard work, even mistakes, to realise, for example, the full significance of Marx’s views on

distribution. He insistently pointed out that in the first phase of communism each worker “receives back from society, with

all deductions, exactly as much as he himself gives to it”, in short, in exact accordance with the quantity and quality of his labour. to the basic principle of socialism “from each according to his ability, to each according to his labour”. An impeccable

democrat and humanist, Marx was a resolute opponent of

equalisation and categorically rejected the demagogic or naive reasoning about socialism as “universal equality” in distribution and consumption.

Now it is clear from practice, from the experience of many, not only the social and economic, but also the enormous political weight of these judgements of the founder of scientific communism is clear. After all, distribution relations directly and directly affect the interests of each and every one. The nature of distribution is, in fact, one of the most important indicators of the degree of social equality possible under socialism. Any attempts to exceed this possible degree by will,

to go ahead to communist forms of distribution, without taking into account the exact labour contribution of each person to the creation of material and spiritual goods.

can and do give rise to undesirable phenomena.

Thus, the inadmissibility of violation of the

objective economic requirement of outstripping the growth of labour productivity. Outside the closest connection with this decisive factor is the increase of wages,

which at first at first makes an outwardly favourable

impression, in the end inevitably has

negative impact on the whole economic life. In particular, it generates demands which cannot be fully met at the given

level of production, it prevents the elimination of scarcity, with all its ugly consequences, which provokes the just indignation of the workers.

The correct solution of the problems of distribution

under socialism presupposes, of course, the natural

provision of the money of the population

with a variety of consumer goods and services. At the same

time, the level of development of the productive forces is

decisive. It is impossible, of course,

to satisfy those needs which exceed

our capabilities. At the same time, it has been and will be our indispensable duty to work in two directions: firstly, every possible assistance to the

elevation of the

of social production and the rise on this basis of the material and cultural standard of living of the people; secondly, all possible assistance to the elevation of the material and

spiritual needs of the Soviet man.

Full social equality does not arise suddenly and in a finished form. Society grows up to it over a long and difficult period of time, at the cost of enormous efforts. It must develop its

productive forces to the level of the material and technical base of communism. It must develop in every worker a high

level of consciousness and culture, professionalism and the ability to use the benefits of socialism wisely.

As long as these conditions do not exist, distributive relations, the strictest control over the measure of labour and the

measure of consumption must be the focus of attention of the party governing socialist society. The CPSU

is constantly concerned to ensure that the principle of

socialist distribution, discovered by Marx, is carried out

everywhere and rigorously, that it is better and more fully applied in practice. If this principle is violated, we have to deal with the so-called flyers, truants, bums, defaulters, who become, in fact, freeloaders of society, living at the expense of the masses of honest workers. This is an intolerable phenomenon, a kind of parasitisation on the humanism of our system.

Labour, and only labour, its real results, not someone's

subjective desire or good will, should determine the level of well-being of everyone.

Such an approach fully meets both the spirit and the

content of Marx's views on distribution under socialism.

We have a long-established system of material and moral

incentives for labour. It still serves the struggle for socialism and communism. However, today, both the system itself and the

forms and practices of its application need, obviously, further improvement,

It is important not only that good labour

be well rewarded and receive

worthy public recognition combined with exemplary

organisation of work to support and develop in people the

usefulness and necessity of their efforts and the products

they produce. It is necessary that it ultimately affirms the sense of their involvement in the affairs and plans of their

collective, the whole nation. And this feeling

disciplines more than any entreaties and appeals.

Improving distribution relations it is necessary to take into account the whole complex of relationships in the process of labour. What is meant here

of all things? It is the consistent strengthening in all

in all spheres of the national economy, in Marx's words,

"regularisation and order", which he regarded as forms of

"social consolidation of a given mode of production". The

work in this direction is especially contraindicated by naked administration and hype, substitution of real business with talk. A leader,

who does not understand this, whose systematic and persistent organisational efforts are trying to

by spectacular but are ineffective, will achieve little.

The meaning of the Party's efforts to improve management, organising, business, planning, state and labour discipline is not only to get rid of certain difficulties, which in itself is

of great importance, but also in ultimately further

consolidating the foundations on which the socialist way of life rests.

Of course, in doing so, the Party proceeds from the real

conditions of labour management existing at the present

stage of development of Soviet society. So far these conditions are such that the economic law which Marx considered to be

the first law on the basis of collective production, the law of economy of working time, is not yet in full force in our country.

This is largely due to the presence of a large number of

physically heavy, unattractive, routine jobs,

slow pace of their mechanisation, and even more so, automation.

Meanwhile, it is enough to imagine the tense situation with labour resources and the demographic situation in the country to make clear the economic

inadmissibility of further preservation of a significant share of manual, non-mechanised labour, which in industry alone

reaches 40 per cent. That is why it is so

urgent today to fully accelerate the pace of scientific and technical progress, make more active use of its achievements, and above all in those areas where labour costs are particularly high.

We have the basis for this. It is the high level of development of the socialist national economy. It is the professional experience and qualification of the Soviet working class. It is the availability of competent specialists and leading personnel of the national

economy, whose productive power is becoming more and more

significant in modern conditions. It is a matter of better, faster use of our capabilities, to raise the culture of labour and production organisation.

We need to persistently address the problems of mechanisation and automation of production because of their socio-political importance. After all, a person freed from heavy, tedious

manual labour, as a rule, shows more initiative and

responsibility for the assigned work. He gets

additional opportunities for study and recreation, for

participation in social activities, production management. Thus, he can more fully

realise more fully the political, democratic rights granted to the people of labour by the socialist revolution, the rights of full masters of their society, their state.

Long before the society replacing capitalism began to take

shape, Marx had also revealed the essence of its political

forms. Already in the “Manifesto of the Communist Party” it was noted that “the first step in the labour revolution is the

the transformation of the proletariat into the ruling class, the conquest of democracy” The establishment of

socialism is inconceivable without firm political power, the class content of which Marx defined by the notion of

“the dictatorship of the proletariat”. It is this, according to Marx’s teaching, that the path of political development opens up, which ultimately leads to communist self government.

How does the living history of socialism correlate with these Marxian forecasts?

In our country, as, indeed, everywhere where the power

has passed into the hands of the working class, of the workers, it meant the triumph of democracy in the most literal and precise sense of the word, a genuine victory of people's power.

The people of labour finally acquired the rights and freedoms which capitalism had always denied them and still denies

them, if not formally, then in essence.

Soviet democracy, which had met with particularly

fierce resistance of counter-revolutionary forces, both internal and external, entered into life honestly, without concealing its class character, without

stopping short of legitimising the privileges of the people of labour vis-a-vis the representatives of the exploiting classes, who fought against the exploiting classes. In essence, it

is and always will be a democracy, guaranteeing the broadest rights and defending the interests of the workers, ready to call to order those who raise their hands against the socialist

conquests of the people.

In the course of building a socialist democracy, the historically established restrictions disappear, and the forms of the exercise of people's power become more diverse. This process is unfolding in

inseparable connection with the development of socialist

statehood, which itself is undergoing qualitative changes.

The most important of these is the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a nationwide state.

This is a shift of great importance for the political system of socialism. It was reflected in the Constitution of the USSR, adopted by the people in 1977, which creates the legislative basis for further deepening socialist democracy.

We do not idealise what has been and is being done in our

country in this field. Soviet democracy has had, has and, we must assume, will still have difficulties of growth due to

material possibilities.

The improvement of our society, the level of consciousness of the masses, their political culture, and the fact that our society is developing not in hothouse conditions, not in isolation from the hostile world, but under the cold winds of the "psychological warfare" unleashed by imperialism.

The perfection of our democracy requires the elimination of bureaucratic overorganisation and formalism, everything that stifles and undermines the initiative of the masses, and restrains the creative thought and living deeds of the workers. We have fought against such phenomena and

will fight against them with even greater energy and

persistence. Sometimes one hears that the present-day appearance of socialist statehood and democracy does not correspond,

they say, to the perspective of communist self-government

indicated by Marx. The path we have travelled and

the experience we have, however, speak to the contrary.

Take, say, Marx's ideas that it is the business of "the people organised in communes" to govern the new society, that the

essence of the new government is “the government of the

of the people through the people themselves. It is known that these ideas were prompted by life, by the heroic impulse of the Paris communards. And yet they contained only the most

general indication of a distant goal.

Only the revolutionary creativity of the masses could concretise the methods of approaching it. Already on the eve of the October Revolution, it provided the material which enabled Lenin to outline a practical step towards realising Marx’s formulas in the conditions of our country: “…the people united by the Soviets, that is who should govern the state”?

The people who know no other authority over themselves than the authority of their own association, this idea of Marx,

Engels and Lenin finds its expression in the activity of the Soviets, which unite legislation, administration and control. It is manifested in the trade unions and other public organisations, in the life of labour collectives, in the development of the whole political system of our society. And it is not at all a question of

searching for its differences from the ideal of communist self-government. Such differences.

by virtue of the historical distance separate us from the second phase of communism.

Much more important is another thing, namely, that this

system is functioning and improving, finding more and more

new forms and methods of developing democracy, of

expanding the economic rights and opportunities of the

working man at work, in all social and political practice, from deputy commissions and people's control to the permanent industrial meetings. This is real socialist self-government of the people, which develops in the course of the construction of communism.

The experience of our democratic development in accordance with the new Constitution of the USSR requires special attention and generalisation. This applies above all to the the revitalisation and wider use of local initiative, the more organic inclusion of all the

labour collectives in our national work. In recent years the powers of the local Soviets with regard to enterprises,

institutions and organisations located on their territory have been considerably expanded. The powers of the

district, regional, krai and republican (ASSR) Soviets will also be increased in the course of the implementation of the decision of the May (1982) of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the establishment of agro-industrial associations under their

jurisdiction. Thus, the role of representative bodies in the implementation of the most important, economic and

organisational function of the socialist state is increasing.

It is impossible not to mention the primary form of

production management found by the masses themselves,

such as the self-supporting brigade.

Of course, we are deeply opposed to such an interpretation of self-government, which leads to anarcho-syndicalism, to the fragmentation of society into corporations independent of

each other, competing with each other, to democracy without discipline, to the understanding of rights without duties. The tried and tested principle of organising the whole life of socialist society is democratic centralism, which makes it possible to successfully to combine the free creativity of the masses with the

advantages of a unified system of scientific leadership,

planning, and management.

The socialist system makes the realisation of the collective rights and duties of the workers as the leading spring of social progress. At the same time, the interests of the

individual are not ignored at all. Our Constitution grants the Soviet citizen broad rights and freedoms and at the same time emphasises the priority of public interests, the service of which is the highest manifestation of citizenship.

We have eliminated the gulf between the interests of the state and the interests of the citizen. But, unfortunately, there are still people who try to act on their selfish interests to society and its other members.

In this light, it becomes clear that it is necessary to work to educate, and sometimes to re-educate individuals, to combat encroachments on the socialist legal order, on the norms of our collectivist society. And this is not the “violation of human rights” of which the bourgeois propaganda hypocritically

speaks, but the most real humanism and democratism, which

means governing according to the will of the majority, in the interests of all workers.

The CPSU puts the interests of the people and the interests of society as a whole above all else. It pays daily attention to the creation of conditions that unleash the creative and

self-determination of the labourers, their social

activity, pushing the limits of independence of industrial

enterprises, state and collective farms. This initiative is a question of the reality of the Party's plans, the growth of its strength, and ultimately the guarantee of the implementation of the programme of communist construction.

The Party, being the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, itself sets an example of the democratic organisation of all its activities; it elaborates

and develops democratic principles, which enter into all

spheres of our socialist existence. This is one of the most important manifestations of the leading role of the Party in the life of society, of its inspiring influence on the masses.

In his own time, analysing Marx's methodological approach to the elucidation of the main features of the new society, Lenin wrote: "Marx has no shadow of an attempt to compose

utopias, to speculate idly about what cannot be known.

…Instead of scholastically invented definitions and fruitless disputes about words (what is socialism, what is communism), Marx gives an

analysis of what might be called the stages of economic

maturity of communism. "It is on the basis of such an analysis Marx, as is well known, created his doctrine of the two phases of the development of a unified communist formation, which is in the service of the CPSU and our other fraternal parties. It was on this basis, generalising new historical experience, that Lenin comprehensively developed the the theory of the construction of socialism and

communism. From these provisions we proceed even

today in solving one of the most difficult, in the opinion of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the question of the concrete forms of the transition to communism.

The most important features of modern Soviet society are

reflected in the concept of developed socialism. It convincingly shows the dialectical unity and real successes in socialist construction, in the implementation of many economic, social and cultural tasks of the first phase of communism, and the and the growing sprouts of the communist future, as well as the unsolved problems left to us from yesterday. And this means that it will take some time to pull up the lagging rears and move on. We need to be sober about where we are.

Getting ahead of ourselves means putting forward

unrealisable tasks; to stop only at what we have achieved is to fail to use all that we have at our disposal. To see our society in real dynamics, with all its possibilities and needs - that is what is now required. The development of the concept of developed socialism was put forward by the XXVI Congress of the CPSU in the first place, amongst what has been done in recent years in the field of

Marxist-Leninist theory. Relying on it, the Party has determined its strategy and tactics for the coming years and the more distant future, warned against possible exaggerations in understanding the degree of the country's

approach to the highest phase of communism. All this made it possible to clarify and concretise the ways and terms of

implementing our programme goals.

Large, sweeping tasks confronted the Party and the people in the last decades of the twentieth century.

These tasks are reduced to what might be called the

perfection of developed socialism, in the course of which the gradual transition to communism will take place. Our country is at the beginning of this

of a long historical stage, which, in its turn.

will naturally have its periods of growth. How long

they will last, what

concrete forms they will take, only experience and living

practice will show. But one of the biggest, we can say qualitative landmarks on this path was clearly outlined by the XXVI Congress of the

Party, which put forward the position on the establishment of a classless structure of society within the historical framework of developed socialism.

It is characteristic that this conclusion, made on the basis of real practice, directly echoes Marx's understanding of socialism as a society that knows no class distinctions. This, by the way, is another confirmation of the fact that the truth of Marx's views should be judged not only on the basis of the experience of the past few decades, but should be assessed from a longer perspective.

The right thing to do today is to ask oneself the question: "What is socialism?" whilst turning to the works of Marx,

Engels and Lenin for an answer,However, it is no longer possible to limit oneself only to this. Nowadays, the concept of "socialism" cannot be defined except in the light of the rich practical experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other brotherly countries. This experience shows how difficult many problems are that stand in the way of socialist creation. But it also testifies to the fact that only socialism can solve the most difficult questions of social existence.

It is socialism that removes the age-old barriers that have separated labour and culture, creates a highly durable union of workers, peasants, intellectuals, all workers. of physical and mental labour, with the leading role of the working class. It brings the working masses into contact with the achievements of science and technology, literature and art, and gives

unprecedented public recognition of the creative work of the intelligentsia. It is socialism that unites into a friendly family the peoples previously divided by national discord and provides a just

solution to the national question, which was created by the exploitative system. It is socialism, while promoting the

flourishing of national forms of life, also forms a new type of international relations, excluding all inequality and based on fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance.

With the completion of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The most acute social clashes in society, which are ultimately based on the division of society into hostile classes, are

overcome by the way of life. This conclusion, however, has

nothing to do with the simplistic, politically naive notion that socialism brings about the elimination of all contradictions and divergences, from all worldly turmoil. By the way, our

ideological opponents exploit this idea in their own way, when they try to defame the new system, pointing out that even

under it there are difficulties and disappointments in people's lives, and sometimes a very difficult struggle between the new and the old.

Yes, we have contradictions and difficulties. To think that some other course of development is possible is to think that there is no other course but to turn away from the solid, though sometimes harsh grounding of reality and to break with the basics of Marxist dialectics. In theoretical terms, this

question, based on the teachings of Marx, was clarified by Lenin. Antagonism and contradiction, he wrote, are not the same thing at all. The former will

disappear, the latter will remain under socialism. Now this is now confirmed by practice. It does not follow, however, that it is possible to neglect non-antagonistic contradictions, to ignore them in politics. Life teaches us that even contradictions which are not inherently antagonistic can give rise to serious conflicts. The other - and the most important - side of the matter is to utilise correctly the contradictions of socialism as the source and stimulus of its progressive development.

Our experience shows that successes in socialist construction come when the policy of the ruling of the Communist Party is based on a solid scientific basis. Any underestimation of the role of Marxist-Leninist science, its creative development and narrowly pragmatic interpretation of its tasks, the neglect of the fundamental problems of theory, the dominance of conjuncturalism or scholastic theorising will be fraught with serious political and ideological consequences. Experience, practice have repeatedly confirmed the correctness of Lenin's

instruction that "whoever takes up private questions without first solving the general ones, will inevitably stumble unconsciously on these general questions at every step. And to stumble blindly on them in

each individual case means to doom one's policy to the worst vacillation and unprincipledness"

The CPSU attaches great importance to the development

of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, as its creative

essence demands. This is vital for the solution of our

practical tasks. More and more we feel, for example, the

need for serious research in the field of political

economy of socialism. Here too, Marx's "Capital" has been and remains an enduring example for our science of deep penetration into the essence of the phenomena of economic life.

Huge material for theoretical understanding is provided

by the diverse but not in all respects coinciding experience of the brotherly countries of socialism.

It is impossible not to recall in this connection Lenin's words that "only through a series of attempts, each of which, taken separately, will be one-sided, will suffer from certain inconsistencies, - will integral socialism be created out of the revolutionary co-operation of the

proletarians of all countries".

This task is being practically accomplished today in the vast areas of the globe, within the framework of the world system of socialism, which has become a determining factor of social

progress of humanity. And it is being solved in the fundamental direction that was predicted by Marx.

Lenin often said that he constantly checked all his activities with Marx. The CPSU checks every step

of its activity with Marx, Engels and Lenin.

To check with Marx, with Marxism-Leninism does not mean to

mechanically "compare" moving life with these or those

formulas. We would be poor followers of our teachers if we

were content to repeat the truths they discovered, to

rely on the magical power of once-learned quotations.

Marxism is not a dogma, but a living guide to action, to

independent work on those complex tasks that each new

turn of history puts before us. And in order not to lag behind life, the communists must in all directions move and enrich the teachings of Marx, creatively apply

Marx's doctrine, creatively apply in practice the method of materialist dialectics developed by him, rightly called the living soul of Marxism. The continuous self-renewal of revolutionary theory under the influence of revolutionary practice is the only thing that makes Marxism a genuine science and the art of revolutionary

creativity. This is the secret of the strength of Marxism-Leninism, of its unfading freshness.

We sometimes hear that new phenomena of social life do not

"fit" into the concept of Marxism-Leninism, that it is experiencing a "crisis" and it is necessary, as it were, to "revitalise" it with an infusion of ideas drawn from Western sociology, philosophy or political science.

The point here, however, is not at all in the supposed "crisis"

of Marxism. The point is something else, the inability of other theorists who call themselves Marxists to rise to the true

scale of theoretical thinking of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in the inability to apply in the process of concrete study of specific issues the enormous intellectual power of their teachings. It is worth adding that many bourgeois theorists in the fields of

philosophy, sociology and political economy have, for the most part, made a name for themselves by dabbling in recasting

Marxist ideas in their own way.

It is not proper for communists to be enamoured by the

hasty phrases of all sorts of “improving” Marx, to cling

to the fabrications of bourgeois science. Not to

to dilute the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, but, on the contrary, to fight for its purity, to develop it creatively, this is the way to cognition and the solution of new problems. Only such an

approach meets the traditions and spirit of our doctrine and the needs of the communist movement.

We, Soviet Communists, are proud of our membership

of belonging to the most influential ideological current in the whole history of world civilisation.

to Marxism-Leninism. Open to all the best,

advanced in modern science and culture, it is today at the

centre of the spiritual life of the world, owning the minds of millions and millions of people. It is

the ideological credo of the rising class that liberates all mankind. It is the philosophy of social

optimism, a philosophy of the present and the future.

A great distance has now been covered on the way to the

social renewal of the world, on the way to the realisation of the revolutionary aims and ideals of the working class. The political map of the globe looks new. The greatest discoveries have been made by science, the achievements of technology

are breathtaking. At the same time, mankind has many

new, including very difficult, concerns. Its worries related to the aggravation of raw materials, energy, food, ecological and

environmental problems are justified. other problems of global scale. And the most important thing that people are concerned about today is the need to preserve peace and prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe. No

nothing is more important than this in international terms for our Party, the Soviet state, and all the peoples of the planet.

To understand all the complexities of the modern world, to

organise and direct the revolutionary social and historical creativity of the working class, of all people of labour, this is the grandiose task which is being solved today by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the struggle for the progress of mankind. This is the task that Karl Marx set before himself, before his ideological and political associates and followers to explain and change the world.